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pre-June 1967 national boundaries and to introduce a sufficient force to keep the peace, that the United States will withdraw its financial support. If the Security Council fails to act promptly, I recommend that the President direct Ambassador Goldberg to summon the General Assembly, under the terms of a decision of the General Assembly of November 1950, which provided that if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the Assembly may consider it and recommend collective measures, including, in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression, that use of armed forces to maintain or restore peace. In such case, the General Assembly may be convened within 24 hours to take up the matter in an emergency special session.

On an important question such as this, a two-thirds majority of members present and voting is required.

We have contributed almost \$3 billion to the U.N. If we are not to obtain any peacekeeping value for our large contributions; if, in spite of our heavy contributions to the U.N., we must still "go it alone" or, in more sophisticated terms, resort to unilateral action—then we should forewarn the U.N. of our disappointments and of the need to make better use of our taxpayers' money.

Unilateral action in the Mideast now would be precipitous; it would rob the U.N. of an opportunity to perform its basic objectives; it would deprive the U.N. of an opportunity to prove itself; it would duplicate the expenditure of large sums of U.S. money and risk the lives of American men in a U.N. war.

Mistakes and blunders, timidity and fears of the U.N. have precipitated this war. The U.N., for its own survival and for the peace in the world, should assume the responsibility and management of resolving the peace in the Middle East.

HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE

(Mr. HOSMER (at the request of Mr. WYLLIE) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most remarkable and unique organizations in the world is the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace located on the campus of Stanford University and founded in 1919 by former President Herbert C. Hoover. Its unparalleled service to mankind is only hinted at in the following article which appeared in the June 22 issue of the Wall Street Journal.

HOOVER LIBRARY GATHERS MATERIAL TO SHED LIGHT ON EVENTS OVERSEAS—IT COLLECTS DOCUMENTS FROM RUSSIA, CHINA, AIDS CIA; NETWORK OF AGENTS HELPS—A HAVEN FOR GOLDWATER MEN?

(By Ronald Buel)

PALO ALTO, CALIF.—The 14-story tower on the Stanford University campus houses some startling goings-on. Messages go out to smug-

glors in Hong Kong and to other agents in trouble spots around the world. Documents arrive directly from the Kremlin and Peking. CIA agents browse in the classified walls and rooms.

It's a pretty spooky place—for a library. But this is no ordinary library. It's the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. The Hoover tower (below, in campus slang) has become one of the world's major repositories for documents dealing with 20th century political and economic developments.

When the Soviet Union discovered that a copy of the first issue of *Pravda*, the government newspaper, was missing from its archives, Russian officials got a copy from Hoover. The institution has the first published documents of the Chinese Communist Party and the files of the Oshbrana, the Marxist secret police for the years 1893 to 1917. Within the past year, the institution was able to provide the Central Intelligence Agency with a photocopied photograph of a seven-year-plan drawn up by a Hungarian Communist economist for the government of Ghana. When opposition leaders are arrested by South Africa's government, their papers and files are swiftly spirited out of the country to Hoover.

ATTRACTING SCHOLARS

In one recent year, 1,000 scholars from 36 states and 27 foreign countries came to dig into the institution's vast collection. Douglass W. Bryant, Harvard University librarian, calls Hoover "one of the great libraries of the world in the fields in which it specializes."

Hoover is more than just a collection of documents, however. The institution supports about two dozen full-time research fellows. It is publishing 22 books this year based on research in its collections. And it currently is financing more than 120 research projects by its own staff and outsiders.

Much of this work is of interest to the Government and its diplomatic and intelligence agencies. A recent 2,000-page work called *The Politics of the Chinese Red Army* brought Government orders for 250 copies. That Hoover has links with the CIA is undisputed, though it appears to get little if any money from the intelligence agency (\$500 was given Hoover last year by American Friends of the Middle East Inc., a known recipient of CIA funds).

Some scholars believe that the institution—or, at least, some of its staffers—has moved beyond objective research into the realm of politics. "Some of the members of the senior staff are propagandists, not scholars," asserts Olaf Holsti, a Stanford faculty member whose father, a Finnish diplomat, left his papers to Hoover. Mr. Holsti adds: "Certainly not everything that goes on there is unscrupulous, but much of it is highly disreputable." A Hoover spokesman replies that the charge is too baseless to warrant further comment.

PROTECTING "THE AMERICAN WAY"

The institution was founded by Herbert Hoover in 1919 with a grant of \$100,000. Mr. Hoover helped sustain it through his years as President and up until his death in 1964. He once said: "The purpose of this institution must be, by its research and publications, to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx . . . thus to protect the American way of life."

Hoover now has an endowment of about \$3 million, and its annual income is fattened by donations from such sources as Standard Oil Co. of Calif., Gulf Oil Corp., Monsanto Co. and the Ford Foundation. Allen-Bradley Co., Milwaukee, Wis., is another donor. "One of our basic policies is to support anti-Communist and conservative organizations," the company says. "The institution falls right in with this policy."

Glenn Campbell, 42-year-old director of Hoover, took a leave of absence to work on Barry Goldwater's Presidential campaign.

Stephan Possony, a research fellow, is a major Goldwater foreign affairs adviser. James H. Brown, information director, also worked in the Goldwater campaign. Some of Hoover's critics claim that Mr. Campbell uses institution funds to support conservative speech writers in such campaigns. Research fellow Roger Freeman, for example, is chairman of a Republican committee refuting a key GOP proposal for the 1968 campaign—tax-sharing between the Federal Government and the states.

OBJECTIVITY SPOOLED

Notwithstanding the close identification of some staffers with aggressive anticommunism, the institution's leaders vigorously defend its objectivity. A spokesman says several staff members have a tolerant view of communism. He says the institution remains free from political domination, though not aloof from the Government. Associate director Witold S. Sworakowski says: "Any U.S. Government agency has first priority on our materials. We owe them that much for our tax-exempt status without which we just couldn't exist."

Edward J. Rozek, a visiting fellow from the University of Colorado, thinks the institution faculty is Republican-oriented—and he thinks it is a good thing. "This may be the nation's only readable body viewed as Republican, and we need more like it to establish an equilibrium," he says. Mr. Rozek, who is writing a book with Presidential foreign affairs adviser Walter Hoscow, adds: "The institution didn't ask me for my political views before they brought me here."

Controversial or not, Hoover often is called on for research in sensitive areas. The United Nations recently asked it to search for some record of an eight-part proposal for peace in French Indochina supposedly made public in 1918 by Nguyen Ai Quoc, now known as Ho Chi Minh. In this case the institution was unsuccessful.

In 1951, the State Department asked Hoover to search for documentary evidence that the Soviet Union had drafted deported Polish families into Russian forced labor camps in World War II. The question was at issue in the United Nations at the time. Hoover came up with "transfer certificates" for Poles at 860 forced labor camps. Confronted with the certificates, Soviet UN ambassador Andrei Gromyko threw them on the floor, and stomped on them.

Like some of the institution's other sensitive documents, the certificates were probably obtained by theft at some point. The institution says one of its curators had persuaded the anti-Communist Polish underground to part with them several years earlier. It's assumed the underground stole them from Communist authorities.

In a 1963 project for the Army, Hoover detailed China's steel industry and energy resources to the point of producing growth figures and plant locations. Yuan-Li Wu, a research fellow, used Chinese government bulletins and other documents—some of them smuggled from China—to piece together the report.

STUDYING DISARMAMENT

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, an independent agency established under President Kennedy, paid the institution \$200,000 to study the long-term reduction of weapons and resolution of conflict in the Far East. Turning to documents, pamphlets and newspapers it received from Asia, Hoover scholars in April came up with a number of recommendations. These include establishment of a regional police to enforce border armistices, the promotion of regional economic and scientific programs, to start a "habit of cooperation" and negotiations aimed at limited arms control and to preclude to eventual disarmament in the Far East.

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